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Classical Latin Theatrical Terms in Medieval Latin of Bohemia

KATEŘINA KVÍZOVÁ (*Prague*)

This article¹ will attempt to discuss the meanings, interpretation and use of a number of elementary Latin theatrical terms in medieval Latin of Bohemia. The focus will be on the following elementary theatrical terms of ancient origin that occur most frequently in medieval Latin sources of Bohemia: *theatrum*, *amphitheatrum*, *scaena*, *comoedia*, *tragoedia*.² The research has been motivated by the occurrence of those terms within the excerpts of *Latinitatis Medii Aevi Lexicon Bohemorum*, which compiles Latin vocabulary of medieval Bohemia, and the fact that in the context of medieval Bohemia the topic has not been explored to this day.³ This is not surprising, as the terms do not represent any larger or specific section of medieval Latin vocabulary. Apart from several mentions and references to “theatrics” (*thea-*

¹ The article is based on the paper read at the conference *Europe and Antiquity. Tradition and Intertextuality*, held on 30 April 2004 in Villa Lanna, Prague.

² There are of course other Latin theatrical terms of Greek origin that only seldom occur in Latin sources of Bohemia: e.g. *mimus*, *mima*, *orchestra*, *proscenium* etc.

³ Concerning the theme in general, the terms *theatrum*, *scaena* were disputed in the context of famous medieval Latin dictionaries and glossaries of Europe by MARY H. MARSCHALL, *The Theatre in the Middle Ages, the Evidence from Dictionaries and Glosses*, in: Symposium 1950, pp. 1-39, 366-389 (hereinafter MARSCHALL 1950). The first part of Cloetta's work on literature and drama of the Middle Ages and Renaissance (WILHELM CLOETTA, *Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, I, *Tragödie und Komödie im Mittelalter*, Halle 1890 [hereinafter CLOETTA 1890]) deals with understanding and interpretation of *comoedia* and *tragoedia* in the medieval and renaissance periods and mentions also late ancient theories of the genres and their transmission into medieval Latin lexicography. The terms (especially *tragoedia*) are also discussed by HENRY ANSGAR KELLY, *Ideas and forms of tragedy from Aristotle to the Middle Ages*, Cambridge 1993 (hereinafter KELLY 1993). P. Stotz gives a short general overview of the use and interpretation of the terms of literature, including *tragoedia*, *comoedia* and *drama*, in medieval Latin; see PETER STOTZ, *Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters*, II, München 2000, pp. 49-51 (hereinafter STOTZ 2000).

trica) paraphrasing the learning of Hugh of St. Victor,⁴ there is no coherent written passage or treatise of the theatre or drama in medieval Latin sources of Bohemia. The theatrical terms occur mainly in medieval Latin or bilingual (Latin-Czech) dictionaries and glossaries; the authors of the dictionaries often tried to find out and define the meaning of as many words as they could, or focused on certain special, unusual words and expressions, as well as abstract and theoretical terms of classical Latin. Some of the terms appear not only as entries and parts of lexicographical definitions in Latin or bilingual dictionaries and glossaries, but also as part of contemporary Latin vocabulary of non-dictionary, s. c. contextual sources (chronicles, diplomatic texts, town books, university books and other documents). These sources can reveal a great deal about the contemporary meanings and employment of the terms in the “living” Latin language.

In the survey of the Latin theatrical terms in the Latin dictionaries and glossaries of Bohemia one must constantly keep in mind the greatest works of the European Latin lexicography that served as general authoritative dictionaries until the late Middle Ages. Speaking of the theatrical terms it was mostly the famous learned dictionaries of Papias (11th century), Osbern of Gloucester (1123-1200), Hugutio of Pisa (1140-1210), and Iohannes Iannuensis († 1298) that became the key sources of lexicographical knowledge and interpretation of the terms. They were cited extensively and paraphrased in Latin glossaries and dictionaries of 13th-15th centuries, including those of Bohemian provenance. Their definitions and interpretations of the terms were based (directly or indirectly) on the early medieval lexicographical sources from Isidore of Seville on, as well as on the study of works of late Roman authors, poets, historians and grammarians. However, also the late ancient sources of medieval Latin lexicography, as we shall see, sometimes confounded and misinterpreted even the elementary terms of classical drama and theatre. Classical Roman drama in fact ceased to exist long before the fall of the Roman Empire, and its stage conventions were soon misunder-

⁴ In the early 12th century Hugh of St. Victor divided mechanical knowledge into seven arts, parallel to the liberal arts. He called the last one *theatrica* or *scientia ludorum* (“the science of entertainments”). The controversial “science” disputed in 27th chapter of his *Didascalicon* (see HUGO DE SANCTO VICTORE, *Didasc.* XXVII) has been often discussed and commented in the Middle Ages. Paraphrases of Hugh’s statement on theatrics are also found in several manuscripts of the Prague University Library from 15th century (Ms. X E 20, Ms. I F 8, Ms. I E 39). For more information see WLADYSŁAW TATARKIEWICZ, *Theatrica, the Science of Entertainment*, in: *Journal of the History of Ideas* 26, 1965, pp. 263-272 (the Czech translation: *Teatrika, sedmé umění*, in: *Divadelní revue* 3, 1991, pp. 28-34); GLENDING OLSON, *The Medieval Fortunes of Theatrica*, in: *Traditio* 42, 1986, pp. 265-286.

stood or forgotten. Mimes and pantomimes, having replaced comedies and tragedies, prevailed in the late Empire as the chief types of dramatic entertainment. The disrupted tradition of ancient theatre and drama and the great loss of theoretical knowledge of its forms determined the comprehension and interpretation of classical Latin theatrical terms in the Middle Ages.

In addition, the formation of some of the major medieval misconceptions and errors in interpreting the terms was also helped by anti-theatrical prejudices and generally negative stance of Christianity and the Church on *ludi* and *spectacula*. From the very beginning of Christianity Roman plays, spectacles, theatre buildings, actors and virtually everything related to the theatrical were perceived as works of devil and pagan symbols of evil, corruptness and sin, and thus became an object of harsh attacks and condemnations. The pejorative associations Roman theatre and plays evoked are expressed in the writings of the early Christian fathers and apologists and their polemics against pagan *ludi* of all kinds. The famous treatment of the shows *De spectaculis* by Tertullianus (2nd century), absolutely condemning *ludi* and *spectacula*, happened to be several centuries later one of the chief sources of etymological definitions and commentaries on the theatre and shows compiled by Isidore of Seville, undoubtedly the most influential authority for the medieval Latin lexicography. In the 18th book of his *Etymologiae*, namely in the chapters dealing with theatre and public shows, one can find allusions and paraphrases of many Tertullian's thoughts. For example Tertullian's attack on "sinful" theatre as "the shrine of Venus"⁵ gave rise to Isidore's comparison of the theatre to a brothel, where the whores prostituted themselves after the shows.⁶

The image of the theatre as a brothel, the place of sins, went hand in hand with the critical attitude of the medieval Church towards plays, actors and dramatic activity in general. The negative view and perception of plays, actors and theatre persisted in fact until the late Middle Ages.⁷ Isidorian idea of

⁵ Cf. TERTULLIANUS, *De spectaculis* 10, PL 1,642A: "... a loci vitio theatrum proprie sacrarium Veneris est." On Tertullian's thoughts and early Christian attitude towards theatre and plays see e.g. NICHOLAS DAVIS, *Spectacula Christiana: A Roman Christian Template for Medieval Drama*, in: *Medieval English Theatre* 9, 1987, pp. 125-152.

⁶ See ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *Etymol.* XVIII,42,2: "Idem vero theatrum, idem et prostibulum, eo quod post ludos exactos meretrices ibi prostrarentur." On the matter see e.g. JOSEPH R. JONES, *Isidore and the Theatre*, in: *Drama in the Middle Ages, Comparative and Critical Essays*, (edd.) CLIFFORD DAVIDSON – JOHN H. STROUPE, New York 1991, pp. 1-23; EVA STEHLÍKOVÁ, *Encyklopedista a divadlo*, in: ISIDOR ZE SEVILLY, *Etymologiae XVIII – Etymologie XVIII*, Praha 2002, pp. 34-47.

⁷ There is also a number of medieval Church edicts and decrees prohibiting plays and dramatic activities. As to the provenance of medieval Bohemia, for example a decree ed-

the theatre as a brothel, transmitted by the dictionary of Hugutio of Pisa,⁸ is evoked also in the Latin-German dictionary Ms. KNM II F 4 (including also Czech glosses) and the Latin-Czech glossary called *Lactifer*.⁹ Similar allusions are found also in the definitions of *scaena*.¹⁰ In one Latin dictionary *scaena* is described as “an infamous place”, likened to a place of prostitution (“*scena dicitur locus turpis, ut est locus prostibuli*”);¹¹ in another one as a shady, tenebrous place of prostitution, where some people “used to convene for performing illicit acts” (“*scena dicitur, ubi aliqui consueverunt convenire ad exercendum actus illicitos et erat locus prostibuli umbratus*”).¹²

While the above mentioned definitions can be related to Isidorian concept of theatre and the well-established biased Christian attitude towards the “bad” pagan plays, the origin of many other dictionary definitions and interpretations of the theatrical terms is not always clear and easily explainable. Isidore with his *Etymologiae* was not, of course, the only one responsible for the interpretation or rather misinterpretation of the terms. The uncontrollable

ited in 1370 by Jan Očko z Vlašimi, the archbishop of Prague, orders that theatrical plays (*ludi theatrales*), musicians and joculators are not to be admitted into the procession during the Feast of Corpus Christi: “*Quare omnibus et singulis decanis, plebanis, clericis et laycis in virtute sancte obediencie districcius mandatur, ne ludos theatrales vel eciam fistulatores aut ioculatores in festo corporis Cristi in processionibus quovismodo ne admittantur*”; Ms. UK IV A 11, f. 133^{va}.

⁸ Cf. HUGUTIO OF PISA, *Deriv.*, T 72, 11 (p. 1207): “*Item theatrum dicitur prostibulum et lupanar, quia post ludos exactos meretrices ibi prostituerentur*.” Iohannes Ianuensis in his grammatical work called *Catholicon* repeats almost word for word the whole definition of *theatrum* by Hugutio, including the association of *theatrum* with a brothel; cf. IOHANNES IANUENSIS, *Cathol.*, s. v. *theatrum*.

⁹ Ms. KNM II F 4, f. 372^v: “... eciam teatrum dicitur esse prostibulum, eo quod ibi ludos exercent meretrices et prosternuntur.” *VocLact*, f. X 2^{rb}: “*Eciam dicitur prostibulum et lupanar, quia post ludos perexactos ibi meretrices prostituebantur kurewna*.” Cf. Hugutio’s definition (note 8). There is an apparent influence of Latin-German glossaries and dictionaries in medieval lexicography of Bohemia. The above mentioned Latin-German glossary found in the manuscript of the National Museum of Prague includes also Czech glosses and was most probably utilised in medieval Bohemia. The Latin-Czech glossaries *LexClemB* and *LexS* from 15th century drew on an (unknown) Latin-German glossary and translated the German equivalents of the Latin terms into Czech (on the matter see DANA MARTÍNKOVÁ, *Středověké vokabuláře a Slovník středověké latiny v českých zemích*, in: *Listy filologické* 122, 1999, pp. 32–38).

¹⁰ The association might have been also influenced by many medieval glosses and commentaries on the famous Boethius’ reference to the Muses as *scenicas meretriculas* in his work *De consolazione philosophiae*; cf. KELLY 1993, pp. 52–57.

¹¹ Ms. CapPr P 1570, f. 29^{rb}.

¹² Ms. CapPr P 1209, f. 23^v. The interpretation of the word *scaena* as shade or a shady, shadowy place is discussed later in the article.

process of endless copying and paraphrasing of previous authors and sources, and the fancy of medieval lexicographers for diverse speculations and etymological derivations, caused some definitions in medieval Latin glossaries to become a chaotic mixture of various statements, confusing descriptions and quotations. Medieval lexicography thus also played an important role in transmitting erroneous conceptions and interpretations of the theatrical terms, as well as spreading the idea of how classical drama was performed.

But if we ignore for now the confounding aspect of medieval Latin lexicography, one can speak, generally, of two basic types of definitions of the theatrical terms in Latin and bilingual (Latin-Czech) glossaries and dictionaries. One type of definition is an antiquarian interpretation of the classical Latin term. It generally reflects medieval understanding and ideas about ancient drama and theatre and its origin can be usually traced in the already mentioned lexicographical authorities. The other one represents the medieval meaning of the term. This can be employed in the contemporary Latin language of the contextual sources that support its active usage. On the other hand, as we shall see, there are also medieval meanings of the terms that are established by lexicographical interpretations (and their tradition) and that occur only in Latin dictionaries and glossaries.

Theatrum, amphitheatrum

The above mentioned types of meanings and definitions can be demonstrated by the terms *theatrum* and *amphitheatrum* that occur relatively frequently in both dictionary and non-dictionary sources. In classical Latin the term *theatrum* comprised several meanings. The word, from the Greek θέατρον (derived from θεᾶσθαι, “to look”, “to watch” etc.), in its basic sense related to a place for seeing. It usually denoted the semicircular spectators’ part of a theatre (as *cavea*) or the spectators themselves. Occasionally *theatrum* could include *scaena* (the stage), or referred to the whole building. The term also had more general connotations: a place of assembly, a place used for public meetings, recitations, or spectacles etc. It was also applied metaphorically to a sphere of activity.¹³ The meaning of the term *amphitheatrum*, from Greek ἀμφιθέατρον which meant literally “a space for looking all around”, was usually limited to an oval large stadium with tiers of seats, an arena in which contests and spectacles were held, i. e. amphitheatre.

¹³ Cf. the definitions in Georges, s. v. *theatrum*.

Medieval Latin glossaries and dictionaries, as well as contextual sources of Bohemia reveal a surprising variety of meanings and uses of both terms. As to the antiquarian definitions referring the terms to the theatre of the past, the dictionaries usually give simplified “archaeological” information on the form and shape of *theatrum* and *amphitheatrum*. For example the Latin dictionary InOmG describes *theatrum* as a space of land surrounded by a short wall, having the form of a semicircle, where plays were held (“*teatrum... spacium terre brevi muro circumdatum formam dimidii circuli habens, in quo ludi exercebantur*”).¹⁴ The definition further states that sometimes it had a round form and then it was called *amphitheatrum* (“... quandoque vero habuit formam integri circuli et tunc vocabatur amphitheatrum”). Another dictionary from a Prague codex defines *amphitheatrum* as “a long house, where people used to ascend to look on public plays like jousts, tournaments” (“*amphitheatrum dicitur domus longa, in qua solebant homines ascendere ad videndum publicos ludos, scilicet hastiludia, torneamenta*”); *theatrum* appears to be its middle (“... medium illius amphitheatri dicitur theatrum”).¹⁵

In the above mentioned definitions one can find the famous Isidorian concept of both terms (transmitted into medieval lexicography above all by Papias and Hugutio), namely Isidor’s definition of a theatre as a semicircular structure containing the scene, where all those standing look on (“*theatrum est, quo scena includitur, semicirculi figuram habens, in quo stantes omnes inspiciunt*”) and his false idea of its originally round form like that of amphitheatre (“*cuius forma primum rotunda erat, sicut et amphitheatri; postea ex medio amphitheatro theatrum factum est*”)¹⁶ that is according to the author made from two theatres of semicircular form (“*amphitheatrum dictum, quod ex duobus theatris sit factum. Nam amphitheatrum rotundum est; theatrum vero ex medio amphitheatro est, semicirculi figuram habens*”).¹⁷

In other medieval Latin dictionaries the term *theatrum* is often defined simply as *spectaculum*: it is for example the case of the dictionary Ms. UK

¹⁴ InOmG, f. 83^v.

¹⁵ Ms. CaprP P 1209, f. 30^r.

¹⁶ ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *Etymol.* XVIII,42,1. Cf. PAPIAS, *Rudim.*, s. v. *theatrum*: “*Theatrum est, quo scaena includitur semicirculi figuram habens, in quo stantes omnes aspiciunt, cuius forma prius rotunda erat, id est amphitheatrum*”; HUGUTIO OF PISA, *Deriv.*, T 72,10 (p. 1207): “*Item a theoro hoc theatrum, spectaculum ubicumque fiat semicirculi figuram habens, in quo stantes omnes inspiciunt, cuius forma prius rotunda erat sicut et amphitheatri, sed postea ex medio amphitheatro theatrum factum est, sic dictum a spectaculo*”; IOHANNES IANUENSIS, *Cathol.*, s. v. *theatrum* (drawing from Hugutio).

¹⁷ ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *Etymol.* XVIII,52,2. Cf. CASSIODORUS, *Variae*, V, 42,5: “... cum theatrum, quod est hemisphaerium, Graece dicatur, amphitheatrum quasi in unum iuncta duo visoria recte constat esse nominatum.”

IX E 1 defining in fact the Latin transcription from Greek *teatron* (“... *teatron* dicitur *spectaculum*”)¹⁸ or the already mentioned glossary Ms. KNM II F 4 informing also on the etymology of the word (“*teatrum*... est *spectaculum*, etymologisatur a *tea[t]ron* grece, id est *speculari vel videre latine*”).¹⁹ In classical Latin the word *spectaculum* usually referred to the show, the thing seen; by extension it was also applied to the place for spectators (the seats) or the spectators themselves and even to theatre or amphitheatre.²⁰ The medieval understanding of *theatrum* as a spectacle, something to be seen, was perhaps transmitted into medieval Latin by late Roman grammarians and authors, namely by Servius in his commentary on Vergil from 4th century.²¹ Papias, whose dictionary circulated widely in the Middle Ages, might have transmitted the meaning of *theatrum* as *spectaculum* in the two senses: theatre as a place of spectacles and above all theatre as a spectacle anywhere. After his paraphrase of Isidore’s etymological information on *theatrum*,²² the author states that *theatrum* is *spectaculum* and mentions a place in towns where royal shows (*ioca regalia*) were performed and where people were beheaded and the whole population gathered there.²³ Then Papias says that theatre is spectacle, wherever it may be performed (*theatrum, spectaculum ubicunque fieri dicitur*).²⁴ The phrase, mentioned also in the lengthy definition by Hugutio,²⁵ refers to the most general medieval concept of the term: theatre as spectacle wherever it is said to be made or theatre as any place for spectacles or sights.²⁶

The definition is partly evoked also in one of the Latin-Czech glossaries, LexR. The glossary repeats that *theatrum* is *spectaculum* “anywhere having a circle shape, in which people are standing and looking on” (“*theatrum* est

¹⁸ Ms. UK IX E 1, f. 219^{va}.

¹⁹ Ms. KNM II F 4, f. 372^v.

²⁰ Cf. the definitions in Georges, s. v. *spectaculum*.

²¹ Cf. SERVIVS, *In Verg. Aen.* V,288: “... media in valle erat circus theatri, id est spatium spectacula. Et ‘theatri’ Graece dixit a circumspectione. Omne spectaculum theatrum possumus ἀπὸ τῆς θεωρίας: non est speciale nomen.” Cf. MARSCHALL 1950, pp. 5-6.

²² PAPIAS, *Rudim.*, s. v. *theatrum*: “Theatrum autem graeca a spectaculo nominatum, quod in eo stans populus desuper aspiciat ludos. Hoc Atheneis primum, deinde a censoribus Romae factum est.” Cf. ISIDORE, *Etymol.* VIII,42,1: “Theatrum autem ab spectaculo nominatum, ἀπὸ τῆς θεωρίας, quod in eo populus stans desuper atque spectans ludos contempleretur.”

²³ PAPIAS, *Rudim.*, s. v. *theatrum*: “Theatrum spectaculum. Locus in civitatibus erat, ubi exercebantur ioca regalia et decolabantur rei plaerunque etiam innocentes. Ad hoc confluebant omnis populus.”

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ See the definition in note 16.

²⁶ Cf. MARSCHALL 1950, p. 21.

spectaculum ubicumque circuli formam habens, in quo stantes homines inspiciunt").²⁷ At the end the glossary adds to the Latin definition the word "okol" as the Czech equivalent of Latin *theatrum*. The word is mentioned also in other Latin-Czech dictionaries describing *theatrum*, including the famous glossaries by Claretus.²⁸ The old Czech word "okol" referred to a circle space, a space enclosed all around; in the knightly context it represented a kind of arena or a tilt-yard for medieval jousts, tournaments and other worldly spectacles.²⁹ The allusion to tournaments even appears in the CodVodn dictionary describing *theatrum* as "okol" or "a communal house, where tournaments can be seen" ("theatrum okol vel domus communis, ubi torneamenta conspiciuntur").³⁰ Similar meanings are also indicated in the Latin-Czech dictionary LexClemB describing the word *amphitheatrum*. The dictionary first states that *amphitheatrum* is a place of spectacle (*locus spectaculi*). Then it gives two other definitions: "tanczhuz" which means literally "dance house" or "dancehall" (from German "Tanzhaus", a common definition of *theatrum* in Latin-German glossaries)³¹ and finally "diwanie kolby", a direct reference both to spectacles and jousts, tournaments.³²

In addition, the term *theatrum* in this sense occurs also in the text of the Latin chronicle of Petr Žitavský from 1338. The chronicle speaks of an incidence when a Bohemian knight, throwing a lance, dashed out on a trotting horse to the middle of *theatrum* ("cumque aliquis tyro Bohemicus hasta vibrata ad medium theatri saltante equo cum impetu prosiliret") and mentions also the people present at the moment ("populus omnis, qui aderat,

²⁷ LexR, f. 12^{ra}. A similar definition is found in the *Lactifer* dictionary which gives also the Czech equivalent "diwadlo w srancziich" (meaning perhaps theatre enclosed by a fence, "in enclosure"; cf. JOSEF JUNGSMANN, *Slownik česko-německý*, Prag 1835-1839, IV, p. 501b, s. v. *šraněk*, hereinafter JUNGSMANN); cf. VocLact, f. X 2^{ra-b}: "... theatrum... spectaculum ubicumque fiat, semicirculi figuram habens, in quo stantes omnes respiciunt, cuius forma prius rotunda erat diwadlo w srancziich." Cf. the definition by Hugutio (see note 16); IOHANNES IANUENSIS, *Cathol.*, s. v. *theatrum*.

²⁸ ClarBoh, v. 770 (*in capite de armis*): "... est okol theatrum"; ClarGl, v. 2106 (*in capite de civitate*): "... okol theatrum".

²⁹ Cf. JUNGSMANN II, p. 916a, s. v. *okol*; StěS, s. v. *okol*.

³⁰ CodVodn, f. 72^{va}.

³¹ Cf. DfG s. v. *theatrum*.

³² LexClemB, f. 29^{rb}: "... amphitheatrum locus spectaculi aut tanczhuz aut diwanie kolby." Cf. JAN GEBAUER, *Staročeský slovník*, Praha 1904 (hereinafter GEBAUER 1904); I, p. 251, s. v. *divanie*; II, p. 77, s. v. *kolba*. An interesting definition is given by the dictionary *Lactifer*. It first defines *amphitheatrum* as an oval place made for spectacles or "rynk" and then the form *amfitearium* as a place of gladiators; cf. VocLact, f. B 3^{rb}-3^{va}: "... amfitearium locus rotundus ad spectaculum factus rynk. Amfitearium est locus gladiatorum przybytek ssermerzsky."

clamabat: Ecce Bohemus!").³³ The evidence of the term *theatrum* in the chronicle confirms its real usage in contemporary medieval Latin of Bohemia, moreover in the sense of a place that bore at least some theatrical aspects: a medieval tilt-yard, a kind of arena for knightly contests, games and secular entertainments. A similar, but rather more general usage of *theatrum* (as a public place for worldly spectacles, races etc.) is also found elsewhere in Europe in the late medieval period.³⁴

The connotations of the terms heretofore discussed has been more or less theatrical in general sense. The Latin dictionaries, drawing on earlier lexicographical works, usually transmit the antiquarian definitions of the terms reflecting the elementary information and ideas on the Roman theatre of the past. On the contrary, the practical Latin-Czech dictionaries which for example describe *theatrum* as "okol", an enclosed, round space for sights, an arena or a tilt-yard for tournaments etc., document the meaning and use of the word in the contemporary Latin vocabulary.

Besides the mentioned meanings, the terms *theatrum* and *amphitheatrum* carry in medieval Latin of Bohemia other remarkable connotations: a medieval marketplace, a public square or a merchants' booth, shop etc. A similar meaning is also indicated in the dictionary of Du Cange which states that *theatrum* is "forum, a public place, where merchants expose their wares"³⁵ and gives several examples of the meaning from medieval Latin sources. The association with a marketplace appears in the Latin-Czech dictionary LexS which describes *theatrum* as "kupeczka lubie".³⁶ The phrase refers more specifically to merchants' stalls located in a gallery or an arcade (an ambulatory) of the medieval house (the old Czech word "lúbě" is related to old German "louba", "loubé"³⁷ and medieval Latin *lobia*, *laubia* or *lobium*³⁸). In addition, in several contextual Latin sources from 14th-15th centuries there is information on permission to build *theatrum* or a public house called "chaufhus" ("domus communis, que in vulgo chaufus dicitur"),³⁹ "kaufhaus",⁴⁰ or

³³ PetrZittChron, p. 152.

³⁴ See MARSCHALL 1950, p. 379.

³⁵ Cf. Du Cange s. v. *theatrum*.

³⁶ LexS, p. 116a. Cf. the terms "kapfeloube", "kaufleup" mentioned in DfG, s. v. *theatrum*.

³⁷Cf. MATTHIAS LEXER, *Mittelhochdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, I, Leipzig 1869-1872, p. 1964, s. v. *loubé*; GEBAUER 1904, II, p. 277, s. v. *lúbě*.

³⁸ Cf. Du Cange, s. v. *lobia*; *Lexicon Latinitatis Nederlandicae Medii Aevi* 36, Leiden 1991, s. v. *lobium*.

³⁹ CDM III, p. 320.

⁴⁰ According to the town book of Olomouc from 1430, the Bohemian king Přemysl Otakar permitted to build „kaufhaus“ on the square. Cf. LibCivOl III, f. 2^a: "Ottakarus

a kind of market house, market hall (*domus mercatoria*).⁴¹ The term *theatrum* thus was applied to a medieval market hall, a merchants' shop, a building or place of merchants' stalls or booths. The term in a similar sense is also found in some late Latin sources of medieval Poland and Germany.⁴²

It is interesting to note that the above mentioned dictionary LexS (drawing on a unknown Latin-German dictionary) gives almost the same definition of *amphitheatrum* as of *theatrum* ("amfiteatrum kupczowe lubie");⁴³ the meanings of both terms *amphitheatrum* and *theatrum* seem to have partly fused in late medieval Latin vocabulary.⁴⁴ However, in the late contextual Latin sources of Bohemia the term *amphitheatrum* uniquely occurs in a slightly different, more general sense of *forum* or "rynek", that refers to a town square (usually including marketplace as well).⁴⁵

At first sight the above mentioned associations of *theatrum* and *amphitheatrum* with a marketplace, a market hall, booths, seller's shop or a town square have nothing to do with the theatre or the theatrical. But if we keep in mind the most general conception of *theatrum* as any place of public spectacles and sights, the connection between such a place and a medieval mar-

Przemisl... indulsit et concessit, quod theatrum vulgariter kaufhaus in civitate Olomucensi potest edificari."

⁴¹ RBM VII, p. 580: "... concedimus et indulgemus ad supplicem instanciam eorundem, quatenus ipsis liceat theatrum sive domum mercatoriam in civitate nostra Pontensi construere ad utilitatem... mercatorum."

⁴² In medieval Latin sources from Germany one can find definitions of *theatrum* also as a "guildhall" ("Gildehaus") or merchants' booths in the arcade of a house ("kapfeloube") etc. Cf. DfG, s. v. *theatrum*. In medieval Latin sources from Poland the term *theatrum* occurs also in a sense of a guildhall, merchant booths, shop etc. I would like to thank kindly to Mechtilde Pörnbacher (*Mittelateinisches Wörterbuch*, München) and Michał Rzepiela from (*Lexicon Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis Polonorum*, Kraków) who supplied me with the Latin excerpts of the term from their lexicographical material.

⁴³ LexS, p. 60b. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 116a.

⁴⁴ Cf. DfG, s. v. *amphitheatrum*, which associates the term also with merchants' booths in the arcade. The fusion of meanings of both terms concerns also the theatrical definitions; cf. the above mentioned definition of *amphitheatrum* from the dictionary LexClemB (note 32).

⁴⁵ Cf. LibCivAlb, f. 8r: "Mauricius cum Marco patre suo de N. emerunt domum in amphiteatro, id est na rynku civitatis Albeaque"; CandRhet, pp. 188-189: "Effectio. Huius eciam civitatis non circulus sed quadrangulus in utrumque medium domorum prefulgurans edificiis et in medio situ amphiteatri macellarumque et aliarum institarum ordine ornato et aque recentis ex duarum cannarum scaturienti demonstracione." Cf. LB, s. v. *amphitheatrum*. The meaning of *amphitheatrum* as a town square is not suggested in the dictionary by Du Cange, neither in the dictionaries of medieval Latin from Germany and Poland.

ket or a public square seems to be quite logical. The medieval marketplace or squares were simply public places, where there was always “something” or “someone” to be seen and heard: either merchants exposing their wares or all kinds of shows presented by medieval entertainers, musicians, dancers etc. After all, it is most probably a medieval marketplace where the action of the famous old Czech play *Mastičkář* is situated, a play in which sales pitches of medieval merchants and apothecaries barking their wares were vividly captured.

Scaena

Another theatrical term occurring in the Latin sources of Bohemia is the word *scaena* (*scena*) from the Greek σκηνή that in the original sense and in relation to the word σκῆνος meant “tent” or “booth”. In classical Latin the term mainly referred to a stage (as background for plays) or boards of a theatre. Metaphorically the word was also applied to a public stage, public, pretext or (false) appearance.⁴⁶

One of the oldest medieval interpretations of the term, found also in Latin dictionaries of Bohemia, was simply “shade” or “shelter”. The meaning was established already by late Roman authors on the basis of “a bucolic and mythical image of the origin of theatre according to which the Greek sknhv was named after the shade (skiav) where shepherds once sang their songs”.⁴⁷ Servius in his commentary on Vergil mentions this etymology, calling *scaena inumbratio* and stating that the original form of theatrical *scaena* had no wall, but was a kind of shelter made up of boughs.⁴⁸ Cassiodorus, in one of his letters, related *scaena* to a front part of the theatre called from a thick shade where shepherds used to sing their songs early in the spring.⁴⁹ Another important authority for medieval definitions of the term was Placidus who described *scaena* firstly as *camera*, a roof providing a shade in the theatre, then as the shade of trees and finally as a kind of song to be acted in the the-

⁴⁶ Cf. the definition in Georges, s. v. *scaena*.

⁴⁷ SANDRA PEITRINI, *Medieval Ideas of the Ancient Actor and Roman Theatre*, in: *The Early Drama, Art and Music Review* 24, 2001, No. 1, p. 4 (hereinafter PEITRINI 2001).

⁴⁸ Cf. SERVIUS, *In Verg. Aen.* I,164: “... scaena inumbratio. Et dicta scaena ἀπὸ τῆς σκιᾶς. Apud antiquos enim theatralis scaena parietem non habuit, sed de frondibus umbracula quaerebant. Postea tabulata componere coeperunt in modum parietis.” Servius further interprets *scaena* as a part of the theatre opposite the spectators: “... scaena autem pars theatri adversa spectantibus.”

⁴⁹ Cf. CASSIODORUS, *Variae* IV,51,6: “Frons autem theatri scaena dicitur ab umbra luci densissima, ubi a pastoribus inchoante verno diversis sonis carmina cantabantur.”

atre with tragic declamation.⁵⁰ A century later, Isidore of Seville gives more accurate theatrical definition of the term: he refers *scaena* to the roofed building (constructed in the form of a house) including the stage (*pulpitus*), but he identifies the stage incorrectly with a platform, *orchestra*, that usually meant the flat area with the first rows of seats just in front of the stage. After comparing the construction of *scaena* to a house Isidore mentions the Jewish feast of tabernacles called σκηνοπήγια.⁵¹

The meanings and diverse interpretations of *scaena* were soon transmitted into medieval Latin lexicography: *scaena* was defined as shade, a shaded place, a roof shading a place in the theatre, an arbour of branches, a form of a casual shelter, a shelter or a booth where poets recited.⁵² Papias' long article on *scaena*⁵³ accumulates the many definitions of the term compiled from earlier sources, including the information on skhnophvgia.

Despite the variety of medieval meanings and descriptions of the term there are only simple definitions of *scaena* in medieval Latin or Latin-Czech

⁵⁰ Cf. PLACIDUS, *Glossae*, p. 21, s. v. *scaena*, in: *Glossaria Latina*, p. 34 (cited from MARSCHALL 1950, p. 7): "Scena est camera hinc inde composita quae inumbrat locum in theatro in quo ludi actitantur; item scena dicitur arborum in se incumbentium quasi concamerata densatio ut subterpositos tegere possit; item scena vocatur compositio alicuius carminis quae digna sit agi in theatro exclamationibus tragicis."

⁵¹ Cf. ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *Etymol.* XVIII,43: "Scena autem erat locus infra theatrum in modum domus instructa cum pulpito, qui pulpitus orchestra vocabatur; ubi cantabant comici, tragici, atque saltabant histriones et mimi. Dicta enim a Graeca appellatione, eo quod in speciem domus erat instructa. Unde et apud Hebraeos tabernaculorum dedicatio a similitudine domiciliorum σκηνοπήγια appellabantur."

⁵² Cf. REMIGIUS OF AUXERRE, *De nupt.* II,51,19 (cited from MARSCHALL 1950, p. 17): "... in scenis, id est in theatris. Scena Grece umbra, hinc scena umbraculum ubi poetae recitabant." Cf. Du Cange, s. v. *scena*.

⁵³ Cf. PAPIAS, *Rudim.*, s. v. *scaena*: "Scaena σκηνή theatri locus. Nunc arborum cacumina vel densitas ordinata, locus quasi lobia... Scaena umbraculum, ubi poete recitabant, nam σκιά graece umbra" (cf. REMIGIUS OF AUXERRE, *De nupt.*, II, 51,19, see note 53). "Scaena est camera, quae obumbrat locum in theatro. Item arborum in se coherentium quasi concamerata densatio. Item compositio alicuius carminis, quod est dignum in theatro" (cf. PLACIDUS, *Glossae*, p. 21, s. v. *scaena*, see note 50). "Scaena domus in theatro erat, structa cum pulpito, quae orchestra vocabatur, ubi cantabant comici, tragici atque saltabant histriones et mimi, dicta grece quod in specie domus erat illustrata. Hi ludi liberales vocabantur. Scaena etiam unguentum, unde dicitur scaenicus. Scaenicus, qui in scaena, id est theatro agit" (cf. ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *Etymol.* XVIII,43, see note 51). "Scaenopegeia sollemnitas hebraeorum graece tabernaculum dedicatio... Scaena enim graece tabernaculum dicitur, quae sollemnitas septembri mense celebratur. Etymologiam ab umbrando dicit. Nam σκιά graece umbra dicit, unde scaena vel scaenomata quasi sagis laneis vel lineis vel frondibus veteres texebant" (cf. BEDA, *In Esd.*, PL 91,828; ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *Etymol.* XVIII,43, see note 51). Cf. MARSCHALL 1950, p. 21.

glossaries of Bohemia: the term is usually defined as shade or a shaded, sheltered, tenebrous place (*umbra, umbraculum, locus umbrosus*).⁵⁴ An interesting definition is found in a lexicographical source Ms. KNM X E 1 which describes *scaena* (in the form *scenos*) shortly as a place from which poets recited their songs („locus, e quo poete dictabant carmina“), while immediately afterwards it defines the term *scenicus* (for “actor”) in a negative sense as a “villain” who lives in obscure and shadowy places (“*scenicus et est nequam habitans in locis obscuris et umbrosis*”).⁵⁵ In the already mentioned contemptuous definitions comparing *scaena* to a brothel one can also find a similar notion of a shaded, tenebrous place (“*locus prostibuli umbratus*”).⁵⁶

The longest and rather confusing definition of the term occurs in the Latin-German-Czech dictionary (Ms. KNM II F 4):

“... scena, -ne dicitur umbra vel umbraculum vel locus obumbratus vel umbrosus cortinis cooperatus similis thabernis mercenariorum, que sunt cortinis cooperte et quandoque dicitur totum theatrum, quandoque dicitur recitacio scripture vel ipsa scriptura... Quandoque dicitur distinccio scripture, quandoque allocucio diversarum personarum.”⁵⁷

It seems to be in fact a shorter paraphrase of a remarkable article on *scaena* compiled originally by Hugutio of Pisa and repeated later by Iohannes Ianuensis.⁵⁸ Hugutio, drawing from Isidore, Papias and other sources, in the first part of his definition states that

“... from [Greek] *skenos*, meaning ‘shadow’, comes the word... scena, meaning a... place in a theatre which is sheltered and closed off by means of curtains, like the booths of merchants which are covered by curtains on posts; and accordingly it may take its name from *skenos* meaning ‘house’, since a *scena* was constructed in the form of a house.”⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Cf. InOmG, f. 77^v: “... scena enim signat umbraculum sive locum umbrosus.” The glossary LexR, f. 10^v, uses the form *scenaculum*; cf. „scenaculum, -li dicitur umbra, styen“. The dictionary *Lactifer* defines *scaena* (in the form *schen*) as shaded, sheltered place (*locus obumbratus*) and also as “skryš” meaning a “hiding place”; cf. VocLact, f. T 1^{va}: “... schena... locus obumbratus zastinienii skryss.”

⁵⁵ Ms. KNM X E 1, f. 26^v. Cf. also LexClemB, f.81^{rb}, defining the term as “seducer” or “womaniser”: “... scenicus ruffian aut meretrices”; cf. JUNGMAN III, p. 950b, s. v. *rufian*.

⁵⁶ See note 12.

⁵⁷ Ms. KNM II F 4, f. 338^r.

⁵⁸ Cf. IOHANNES IANUESIS, *Cathol.*, s. v. *scaena*.

⁵⁹ HUGUTIO OF PISA, *Deriv.*, S 243,4 (p. 1140): “Et a scenos quod est umbra dicitur hec scena, -e, idest... locus obumbratus in theatro et cortinis coopertus, similis tabernis mercenariorum, que sunt asseribus vel cortinis cooperte; et secundum hoc scena potest dici a scenos quod est domus, quia in modum domus constructa est.” The English trans-

Hugutio further continues to describe the way of acting:

“That sheltered place hid people in masks who came out at the voice of the reciter to act in dumb-show.”⁶⁰

The remaining part of Hugutio’s definition (mentioned also in the dictionary of German-Czech origin) gives five more meanings of *scaena*: the theatre (*theatrum*), recitation of the script (*recitatio scripture*), the script itself (*scriptura*), the speech of diverse persons (*allocutio diversarum personarum*), a part of the script (*distinctio scripture*) there recited.⁶¹

Hugutio’s peculiar conception of *scaena* as a little curtained shelter or booth, a kind of “hiding place” for masked actors, had a great impact not just on lexicographical definitions of the term until the late Middle Ages (as in the above mentioned dictionary from 1470), but even on medieval descriptions and ideas of the method of acting and performing ancient plays.⁶² But there seems to be perhaps no connection between Hugutio’s visual comparison of *scaena* with a merchants’ booth and the late medieval meaning of *theatrum* as a merchants’ shop, stall in the arcade of a house or a market hall.⁶³

In comparison with the relatively frequent occurrence of *theatrum* and *amphitheatrum* in both lexicographical and contextual sources of Bohemia, the term *scaena* is only rarely employed in the Latin vocabulary of Bohemia, moreover in a metaphorical sense as e. g. in the phrase „*scaena omnis virtutis et pulchritudinis*“ (“the stage of all virtue and beauty”).⁶⁴ The term predominantly occurs in the Latin (or bilingual) dictionaries and glossaries that usually transmit its common medieval meanings and lexicographical interpretations.

lation taken from WILLIAM TYDEMAN, *The Medieval European Stage 500-1550*, Cambridge 2001, p. 37 (hereinafter TYDEMAN 2001).

⁶⁰ HUGUTIO OF PISA, *Deriv.*, S 243,4 (p. 1140): “In illo umbraculo latebant persone larvate, que ad vocem recitatoris exhibant ad gestus faciendos.” The English translation taken from TYDEMAN 2001, p. 37.

⁶¹ Cf. HUGUTIO OF PISA, *ibid.*

⁶² Cf. MARSCHALL 1950, p. 26, who gives as an example Nicholas Trevet’s commentary on Roman plays which describes *scaena* similarly as a little shelter in the middle of theatre with a pulpit, where the poet was reciting, while the masked mimes were illustrating the verses. Also two miniatures from the Paris manuscripts of Terence (dating from 12th century) show possible knowledge of Hugutio’s description of the scene; cf. PIETRINI 2001, p. 4.

⁶³ Cf. MARSCHALL 1950, p. 25, who proposes that Hugutio might have been inspired by 13th century glosses on the digests of Justinian by jurists Accursius and Odofredo who describe the contemporary practice of entertainers using a tent or a curtained stall for their performances in a public square.

⁶⁴ Cf. VitaMil, p. 427: “... qui scenam omnis virtutis et pulchritudinis formam regni Bohemiae infamando in me obtenebrare volebant.”

Comoedia, tragoedia

As in the case of *scaena*, also the genre terms *comoedia* and *tragoedia* are totally prevailing in Latin (Latin-Czech) glossaries, while their usage in Latin vocabulary of contextual sources is scarce. The definitions of *comoedia* and *tragoedia* in Latin dictionaries of Bohemia generally correspond to the widespread concepts and interpretations of the terms in the influential lexicographical works, the Latin dictionaries by Papias, Hugutio, Osbern and Iohannes Ianuensis. The authors in their dictionary definitions of the terms drew heavily from the late Roman and early medieval authors (above all Euanthius and Donatus,⁶⁵ Diomedes,⁶⁶ Placidus,⁶⁷ Isidore of Seville⁶⁸) who transmitted to the Middle Ages their own (usually not complete and exact) definitions of the terms *comoedia*, *tragoedia*, *drama*⁶⁹ or learning of three

⁶⁵ Euanthius' treatment of the comedies of Terence is lost apart from his introduction that was later incorporated into the beginning of Donatus' commentary. See the following part comparing tragedy and comedy, EUANTHIUS, *De com.* 4,2: "Inter tragediam autem et comoediam cum multa tum imprimis hoc distat, quod in comoedia mediocres fortunae hominum, parvi impetus periculorum, laetique sunt exitus actionum; at in tragoedia omnia contra: ingentes personae, magni timores, exitus funesti habentur. Et illic prima turbulenta, tranquilla ultima, in tragoedia contrario ordine res aguntur. Tum quod in tragoedia fugienda vita, in comoedia capessenda exprimitur. Postremo quod omnis comoedia de fictis est argumentis; tragedia saepe de historia fide petitur."

⁶⁶ Dimoedes in his definitions of comedy and tragedy utilized previous authors, mostly the absent works of Suetonius. See the following part of his article on comedy and tragedy, DIOMEDES, *Ars gram.* III, in: *GLI*, p. 488: "Comoedia est privatae civilisque fortunae sine periculo vitae comprehensio... comoedia a tragoedia differt, quod in tragoedia introducuntur heroes duces reges, in comoedia humiles atque privatae personae; in illa luctus exilia caedes, in hac amores, virginum raptus: deinde quod in illa frequenter et paene semper laetis rebus exitus tristes et liberorum fortunarumque priorum in peius adgnitio... tristitia namque tragoediae proprium."

⁶⁷ Cf. PLACIDUS, *Glossae*, S 21, s. v. *scena*, in: *Glossaria Latina*, p. 34 (cited from KELLY 1993, p.7): "Tragoedia est enim genus carminis quo poetae regum casus durissimos et scelera inaudita vel deorum res alto sonitu describunt; comoedia, quae res privatorum et humilium personarum comprehendit, non tam alto ut tragoedia stilo, sed mediocri et dulci."

⁶⁸ Isidore defines the activity of tragic (*tragoedii*) and comic actors (*comoedi*) avoiding the terms *tragoedia* and *comoedia* themselves; cf. ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *Etymol.* XVIII,45: "Tragoedi sunt, qui antiqua gesta atque facinora sceleratorum regum luctuosa carmine spectante populo concinebant"; *ibid.*, XVIII,46: "Comoedi, sunt qui privatorum hominum acta dictis aut gestu cantabant atque stupra virginum et amores meretricum in suis fabulis exprimebant."

poematos genera. However, already in the late Antiquity authors did not have an exact idea of the genres and their dramatic form.

Despite the knowledge of the works of the three Latin dramatic authors who survived in the Middle Ages (i.e. Terentius, Plautus, Seneca), a little was known about the dramatic concept and representation of their plays. There were famous widespread misconceptions of the ancient way of staging plays: for example the comedies of Terence, the most popular and frequently mentioned ancient dramatic author in the Middle Ages, were thought to have been recited by one man (*recitator*) while pantomimists acted out the scenes with gestures, as is partly indicated in Hugutio's description of *scaena*.⁷⁰ Ancient tragedies and comedies were treated as narrative or lyrical forms of literature, poems of a kind, songs or stories without any notion of dramatic aspect.⁷¹ This is also evident from the definitions of the terms in medieval Latin or bilingual glossaries of Bohemia.

Medieval lexicographical definitions of tragedy and comedy usually pointed out several conventional characteristics,⁷² established by the tradition derived from Roman and early medieval authors and grammarians. One of the frequently mentioned aspect was the beginning and ending of *tragoedia* and *comoedia*: tragedy begins in joy and ends in sorrow, whereas comedy is the reverse.⁷³ Another important point was the style (the high style

⁶⁹ The term *drama* (from Greek δράμα), whose connotations in medieval Latin and its form *dragma* (*dragmaticus*, *dragmaticon* etc.) were discussed in the original paper at the conference, was finally excluded from the article. Its case differs from the selected terms since the word has been actively employed in Latin as late as from 4th century (firstly by the late ancient grammarian Diomedes). In medieval Latin the term was applied to a kind of dialogic speech (based on questions and answers) or a new form of medieval alternative singing, typical for liturgical psalms, sequences or hymns. Cf. LB, s. v. *dragma*. On the matter see STOTZ 2000, p. 50.

⁷⁰ See note 59.

⁷¹ The words *comoedia*, *tragoedia* were even applied to a particular style and assigned to certain works and authors. For example Ovid as the author of *Elegies* and Vergil as the author of *Aeneid* were regarded as tragic authors, while the Vergil of the *Bucolics*, Horace, Juvenal together with Plautus and Terentius as comic ones; cf. SANDRO STICCA, *The Latin Passion play: its origins and development*, Albany 1970, p. 12.

⁷² Cf. CLOETTA 1890, p. 28.

⁷³ This is in fact the main characteristics of tragedy in Osbern's definition; cf. OSBERN OF GLOUCESTER, *Deriv.*, t. 184: "... tragoedia carmen luctuosum, quia incipit a letitia et finit in tristitia; cui contrarium est comedia, quia incipit a tristitia et finit in letitia." It is mentioned also at the end of Hugutio's long article on comedy and tragedy (under the entry *oda*); cf. HUGUTIO OF PISA, *Deriv.*, O 11,17 (p. 863): "Item comedia a tristibus incipit sed cum letis desinit, tragoedia e contrario." Cf. the definitions by Euanthius (see note 65) who speaks of joyful endings of comedy ("laetique sunt exitus actionum") and

of tragedy vs. the middle or low style of comedy),⁷⁴ and the sort of personages and things the comedy and tragedy employ: while tragedy concerns kings and people of high status and qualities,⁷⁵ comedy deals with private and lowly persons;⁷⁶ tragedy treats of serious, sad, grievous and horrible affairs (such as sinful crimes of kings, murders etc.),⁷⁷ while comedy deals

grievous endings of tragedy (“exitus funesti”), Diomedes (see note 66) who speaks of the sad character of tragedy (“tristitia namque tragoediae proprium”) stressing the unhappy outcome of joyful affairs (“laetis rebus exitus tristes”), while in comedy it is just the reverse (“tristibus laetiora succedunt”).

⁷⁴ Cf. PAPIAS, *Rudim.*, s. v. *comoedia*, who drawing from Placidus (see note 67) speaks of “the high style” (*stilus altus*) of tragedy in contrast to the “middle and pleasant style” (*stilus mediocris et dulcis*) of comedy: “... comoedia est, quae res privatarum et humilium personarum comprehendit, non tam alto stillo ut tragoedia, sed mediocri et dulci, quae saepe etiam de historica fide et de gravibus personis tractat.” On the contrary, Hugutio assigns the comedy the low, humble style (*stilus humilis*); cf. HUGUTIO OF PISA, *Deriv.*, O 11,17 (p. 863): “Item comedia humili stilo describitur, tragedia alto.” The notion of the low style occurs also in Euanthius’ commentary who speaks of “humbleness of argument and style” (“tabernias ab humilitate argumenti et stili”), see his definition in note 65.

⁷⁵ Cf. PAPIAS, *Rudim.*, s. v. *tragoedi*, who speaks of the characters of tragedy as of kings (*reges*), HUGUTIO OF PISA, *Deriv.*, O 11,16 (p. 863) who mentions kings and magnates (*reges, magnates*). Cf. also the definitions by Euanthius (see note 65) who refers to “imposing persons” (*ingentes personae*), Diomedes (see note 66) who mentions heroes, rulers and kings (*heroes, duces, reges*).

⁷⁶ Cf. the definition by Papias (see note 74) who mentions affairs or matters of private and lowly people in comedy (*res privatarum et humilium personarum*); the phrase was most probably taken from Placidus (see note 67). Also Diomedes speaks of lowly and private persons (*humiles atque privatae personae*) in the comedy (see note 66). In his definition of comic actors (see note 68) Isidore of Seville states that they sing about the acts of private people (*privatorum hominum acta*). Cf. further HUGUTIO OF PISA, *Deriv.*, O 11,16 (p. 863): “Et differunt tragedia et comedia quia comedia privatorum hominum continet facta, tragedia regum et magnatum.” The notion of the word “private” in connection with comedies seems to have originated from Horatius’ use of the phrase *privata carmina* in verses 90-91 of his *Ars poetica*, see KELLY 1993, p. 6.

⁷⁷ Cf. PAPIAS, *Rudim.*, s. v. *tragoedi*, who – drawing on Isidore (see note 68) – speaks of “the ancient deeds and crimes of sinful kings”: “Tragoedi sunt, qui antiqua gesta et facinora sceleratorum regum concinebant populo spectante.” In his definition of comedy Papias (see note 74) also states that tragedy is about “historical truth and honourable persons”; cf. the notion of historical truth in the definition by Euanthius (see note 65). HUGUTIO OF PISA, *Deriv.*, O 11,12 (p. 863), says that tragedy is about “the cruellest things” and describes further the cruel crimes of Tantalus and his progeny (cf. KELLY 1993, p. 105): “... est enim de crudelissimis rebus, sicut qui patrem et matrem interficit vel comedit filium, vel e converso et huiusmodi.” Cf. also the definitions by Euanthius (note

with private matters⁷⁸ (such as love affairs, seductions⁷⁹ or affairs of villagers etc.⁸⁰). It was also very popular to discuss – within the frame of definitions – the etymology of *comoedia* and *tragoedia*; medieval authors of Latin glossaries and dictionaries usually utilized (directly or indirectly) the comments of late ancient authors and also added their own speculative etymological derivations and explanations.

In Latin lexicographical works of Bohemia there is a number of definitions of the terms using the above mentioned characteristics and drawing on earlier medieval dictionaries and sources. *Comoedia* is for example defined as a song about low-born persons (“*comedia vero vocatur carmen de personis ignobilibus*”),⁸¹ a song about lowly or humble affairs and persons (“*comedia est carmen rerum et personarum vilium*”),⁸² a poem, where humble people are introduced and love affairs of virgins are described (“*comedia..., id est poema, in quo humiles persone introducuntur et amores virginum describuntur*”),⁸³ a song “correcting” the villagers (“... *comedia, id est cantus corrigens villanos*”).⁸⁴ One source states that it is a poem written about revelries (carousals, joyful processions) of the rustic people (“*comedia dicitur carmen scriptum de comensationibus rusticorum*”).⁸⁵

The definitions of comedy mentioning village, rustic people or villagers and their revels, feasts, remind of the two most common etymological inter-

65) who speaks of “great fears and disastrous endings” in tragedy (*magni timores, exitus funesti*) and “dangers of small moment” in comedy (*parvi impetus periculorum*), Diomedes (see note 66) who speaks of “lamentations, exiles and slaughters” in tragedy (*luctus, exsilia, caedes*), and Placidus (see note 67) who states that tragedy describes “the most grievous falls of kings and unheard crimes, or the affairs of the gods” (*regum casus durissimos et scelera inaudita vel deorum res*).

⁷⁸ See the discussion in note 75.

⁷⁹ Cf. Diomedes (see note 66) who mentions “the love stories and the abductions of virgins” (*amores, virginum raptus*); cf. also ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *Etymol.* XVIII,46 (see note 68).

⁸⁰ Cf. PAPIAS, *Rudim.*, s. v. *comoedia*: “... *comoedia villarum carmen*”; HUGUTIO OF PISA, *Deriv.*, O 11,6 (p. 863): “... *comedia, idest villanus cantus vel villana laus, quia tractat de rebus rusticanis et affinis est cotidiane locutioni quia circa villas fiebat et recitabatur*”; cf. IOHANNES IANUENSIS, *Cathol.*, s. v. *comedia*.

⁸¹ InOmG, f. 85^r.

⁸² LexClemB, f. 38^{rb}. Cf. the definition by Osbern who states shortly that comedy is a “cheap” (humble, lowly) song, OSBERN OF GLOUCESTER, *Deriv.*, C 34,9: “... *comedia, -e, id est vilicus cantus*.”

⁸³ VocLact, f. E 8^{ra}.

⁸⁴ Ms. KNM II F 4, f. 410^v.

⁸⁵ Ms. KNM X E 1, f. 162^v.

pretations of *comoedia*, given by late ancient⁸⁶ and medieval⁸⁷ authors: from the Greek κῶμος (the Latin *comessatio*) for “joyful procession”, “revels”, “carousals”, “feast”, or from the Greek κῶμη for “village” and ὠδή for “song”, as is mentioned in a short Latin tractate on sciences calling comedy a “rustic song” or “rustic praise”: “... dicitur... carmen comediaticum a comere, quod est villa, et odos cantus villaris vel laus vel cantus villanus.”⁸⁸ The same source gives another, less common etymological explanation: comedy is said to be derived from *comere* (in the sense of the verb *ornare*, “to decorate”) which refers to the ornate speech and beauty of words employed in the comedy (“carmen comediaticum a comere, id est ornatus; unde carmen comediaticum est, quando universalis materia verborum pulchritudine exornatur”).⁸⁹

The generally accepted etymology of *tragoedia*, from the Greek τράγος for “goat” and ὠδή for “song”, “poem”,⁹⁰ is referred to in the Latin-vernacu-

⁸⁶ Cf. VARRO, *De lingua lat.* VII,5,89; DONATUS, *De com.* 4,2; EUANTHIUS, *De com.* 1,3; DIOMEDES, *Ars Gram.* III, in: *GL I*, p. 488; CASSIODORUS, *Var.* IV,51,7; ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *Etymol.* VIII,7.

⁸⁷ Cf. PAPIAS, *Rudim.*, s. v. *comoedia*: “Comoedia villarum carmen nam come κῶμη dicitur villa”; HUGUTIO OF PISA, *Deriv.*, O 11,6-7 (p. 863): “Item oda quod est cantus vel laus componitur cum comos quod est villa et dicitur hec comedia, id est villanus cantus vel villana laus, quia tractat de rebus rusticis et affinis est cotidiane locutioni quia circa villas fiebat et recitabatur. Vel comedia a comessatione: solebant enim post cibum homines ad audiendam eam venire”; cf. also IOHANNES IANUENSIS, *Cathol.*, s. v. *comoedia* (drawing from Hugutio and Papias).

⁸⁸ Ms. UK X E 20, f. 99^r. Cf. the definition by Hugutio (note 80), IOHANNES IANUENSIS, *Cathol.*, s. v. *comedia*.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* Cf. the definition by Sedulius Scotus who states that comedy comes from the Greek κομῶ, that is the Latin *orno*, since the “cheap” or lowly matter of comedy is ornate, decorated by the beauty of words: “... vel comoedia dicitur ab eo quo est κομῶ, id est orno, eo quod vilem materiam pulchritudine verborum ornarent”; SEDULIUS SCOTUS, *In Donat.* II, in: *CCM* 40B, p. 116. Apart from that Sedulius gives the two other etymological explanations of *comoedia*: derived from the Greek κῶμη for “village” and ὠδή for “song”, comedy is according to him a song of the villagers about “empty” and low matters, love affairs etc. (*ibid.*: “... comoedia autem dicitur quod est a Greco comos et ὠδή. Comos enim Grece dicitur ‘villa’, ὠδή ‘cantus’; inde comoedia carmen villanum de inanibus et vilibus rebus factum, de amoribus iuvenum et meretricum”), and from the Latin *comessatio*, “revels”, that followed afterwards (“... comoedia quoque dicitur a comessatione, quia qui illud carmen componebant, victum tantum consequantur”). A similar etymology of *comoedia* from *como*, referring to the ornate speech of comic authors, is given also by Bernard of Utrecht in his commentary to Theodolus’ “Eclogue” from the end of 11-th century, see KELLY 1993, p. 62.

⁹⁰ Concerning the etymology of *tragoedia*, there are still several theories regarding “goat”. The connection may be via satyric drama, from which tragedy later developed, in

lar dictionaries Ms. KNM II F 4 and *Lactifer*: both dictionaries describe tragedy as a “goatish praise” in the sense of fetid.⁹¹ The phrase originally appears in Hugutio’s definition of tragedy (given under the entry *oda*), in which the author also gives a curious explanation of its etymology: the tragedian was given a goat as a prize, that is a fetid, stinky animal, not that he would have no other worthy prize, but to designate the filth of the subject matter.⁹² The similar explanation is also evoked in the dictionary Ms. KNM II F 4 defining tragic authors, *tragedi* or *tragici*, as those who criticize filthy, fetid matters.⁹³ The dictionary further defines tragedy as an infamous song

which actors or singers were dressed in goatskins to represent satyrs. But many other theories have been put forward, including that of singer who competes for a goat as the prize – as is mentioned in the definitions of tragedy by the late ancient authors EUANTHIUS, *De com.* 1,2; DIOMEDES, *Ars gram.* III, *GL* I, p. 487; SERVIUS, *In Verg. Georg.* II,383; ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *Etymol.* VIII,7. But there are also other etymological explanations of the term: e.g. *tragoedia* is related to τρύγα for “dregs” by PORHYRIO, *Hor. Ars.* 277 (cited from Robert Maltby, *A Lexicon of Ancient Latin Etymologies*, Leeds 1991, p. 617). EUANTHIUS, *De com.*, I,2, explains that actors coloured their faces with τρύγες or *faeces* in Latin. DIOMEDES, *Ars gram.* III, in: *GL* I, p. 487, likens tragedy with wine and mentions the Greek τρύξ (literally “dreg” or “most”) and τρύγητος for “vendage” (“... alii a vino arbitrantur, propterea quod olim τρύξ dictitabatur, a quo τρύγητος hodieque vindemia est”). Another interesting etymology is given by Sedulius Scotus who – apart from the Greek terms τράγος and τρύγες – mentions also the term *tracondon* (perhaps from the Greek words τραχὺς for “rough” and ὠδή for “song”), since tragedy is according to the author a rough and sorrowful song about the fights between people and their murders; cf. SEDULIUS SCOTUS, *In Donat.* II, in: *CCM* 40B, p. 117: “... vel tragoedia dicitur a Greco quod est tracondon, id est durum et lamentabile carmen; est enim de proeliis et interfectione hominum compositum.”

⁹¹ Ms. KNM II F 4, f. 383^v: “Tragedia... quasi ‘laus hircina’, id est fetida.” VocLact, f. X 4^{vb}: “... tragedia... hircina, laus hyrcinus et fetidus cantus.”

⁹² HUGUTIO, *Deriv.*, O 11,11-13 (p. 863): “... tragedia,-e, idest hyrcina laus vel hyrcinus cantus, idest fetidus: est enim de crudelissimis rebus, sicut qui patrem et matrem interficit vel comedit filium, vel e converso et huiusmodi. Unde et tragedo dabatur hyrcus, scilicet animal fetidum, non quod non haberent aliud dignum premium, sed ad fetorem materie designandum”; cf. IOHANNES IANUENSIS, *Cathol.*, s. v. *tragedia* (drawing from Hugutio). Papias in his definition of tragic actors (drawing from Isidore) mentions the usual explanation of the term from the Greek for “goat” as a prize for singers; cf. PAPIAS, *Rudim.*, s. v. *tragoedi*: “Tragoedi sunt, qui antiqua gesta et facinora sceleratorum regum concinebant populo spectante, dicti tragoedi, quod in initio canentibus premium erat hircus, quem graeci tragis vocant”; cf. ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *Etymol.* VIII,7. See the discussion in note 90.

⁹³ Ms. KNM II F 4, f. 383^v: “Tragedi... vel tragici sunt poete quidam, dicti a tragis grece, quod est hircus latine, quia sicut hircus est animal fetidum, ita tragedi vel tragici fetida reprehendunt.”

about kings (“... tragedia, id est turpis cantus de regibus”)⁹⁴ and mentions also Hugutian description of its cruel content,⁹⁵ according to which *tragoedia* deals with the cruellest subjects, “for instance a person who has killed his father and eaten his son, or the reverse” (“... de crudelissimis rebus, sicut de illo, qui patrem interfecit vel comedit filium vel e contrario”).⁹⁶ The subject matter and characters of tragedy are mentioned also in InOmG dictionary defining *tragoedia* as a poem about the crimes of the principal and potential men (“tragedia est carmen factum de sceleribus principum et potentum”).⁹⁷

As to the other dictionary descriptions of *tragoedia*, one can find its short definition of as “mournful poem” (*carmen luctuosum*).⁹⁸ The Latin-Czech dictionaries define the term also briefly (using usually the negative adjectives) as “disgraceful”,⁹⁹ “evil”,¹⁰⁰ “terrible”¹⁰¹ poem. The term *comoedia* is, on the other hand, described in bilingual glossaries either neutrally as “pyes-

⁹⁴ Ms. KNM II F 4, f. 413^v; Ms. UK I C 36, f. 121^{ra}.

⁹⁵ Cf. notes 77, 90.

⁹⁶ Ms. KNM II F 4, f. 383^v. Cf. Hugutio’s definition (note 77); IOHANNES IANUENSIS, *Cathol.*, s. v. *tragedia* (drawing from Hugutio).

⁹⁷ InOmG, f. 85^r.

⁹⁸ Cf. Ms. UK IX E 1, f. 219^{va}: “Trageda... carmen luctuosum.” Cf. also PAPIAS, *Rudim.*, s. v. *tragoedia*: “Tragoedia erat, quicquid luctuosis carminibus describebant antiqui.” The association of tragedy with *carmen luctuosum* appears also in a definition of tragic authors in Ms. UK VI C 28, f. 110^{vb}: “Tragedi sunt, qui luctuose gesta regum scripserunt”, and comes originally from ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *Etymol.* XVIII,45 (see note 68). The phrase is used also in a definition of tragedy in one or more copies of Remigius’ commentary on Boethius’ *De consolatione philosophiae*; cf. KELLY 1993, p. 55.

⁹⁹ ClarGl, v. 1633: “... necznota tragedia”; Veleš, f. 113^{va}: “... tragedia necznota.” Cf. StčS, s. v. *nečstnota*, *necznota*. ClarVoc, v. 379, gives the definition of *tragoedia* (and *comoedia* too) in the chapter on ethics (*De ethica*): “Tragedia nekazowna.” VocLact, fol. X 4vb: “Tragedia... hanliw a nepoczestne zpiewanije nebo spis o zlych wiectzech nekazniwa.” Cf. StčS, s. v. *nekazowna*. Cf. also the above mentioned definition of tragedy as an “infamous song about kings”.

¹⁰⁰ The dictionary LexClemB, f. 85^{vb}, defines under the entry of *trageda* both tragedy and tragic author (as a “composer of evil songs”): “... tragedia skladatel zlych piesnii, tragedia zla piesen.” Cf. VocLact, f. X 4^{vb} (v. supra).

¹⁰¹ Cf. LexS, p. 115b: “... tragedia sseredny piesny.” Similarly also the tragic author is defined as a composer of terrible songs: “... tragedia hanebny piesnotwor vel sseredny” (*ibid.*); cf. the definition in note 99. As to the other definitions of tragic authors, e.g. CodVodn, f. 73^{ra}, defines *trageda* as a composer of a cheap, humble song: “Trageda dicitur vilis cantus compositor.” But the notion of “cheapness” appears in some definitions of comedy, see note 82. The dictionary InOmG, f. 85^r, gives a simple definition of *tragedus* and *tragicus* as a “creator of a song”: “Tragedus et tragicus dicitur factor carminis.” See also VocLact, f. X 4^{vb}: “... tragedus... tragedie scriptor kto spisuge nebo sklada takowe piesnie.”

notwor(n)a”,¹⁰² or as a panegyric poem (“prawopiesna”),¹⁰³ or an “inutile” song (“neužitečná”).¹⁰⁴

All the above mentioned definitions use for the description of *comoedia* and *tragoedia* the terms *carmen*, *cantus*, *oda*, *laus* without any allusion to drama or dialogue and suggest that comedy and tragedy came to mean in medieval Latin simply songs or poems of certain style and characteristic features. But these were not perhaps vague and abstract terms of literature limited only to lexicographical sources. The notion of the word *comoedia* in a dean book of the Prague university from 1497 suggests that the term finally found its way into the Latin vocabulary of Bohemia in the late Middle Ages: the source speaks of trumpeters playing the trumpet, musicians playing the string instrument and the folk singing *comoedias* – jocose tunes or songs.¹⁰⁵

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Despite the narrow focus on the few theatrical terms of classical origin, I hope that at least a partial light was thrown on their meanings and the ways and types of their occurrence in both Latin glossaries or dictionaries and contextual sources of Bohemia. The fact that the terms were not generally incorporated within the Latin theatrical terminology of medieval Bohemia (unlike e. g. some histrionic terms¹⁰⁶ or the term *ludus*¹⁰⁷) logically determined their occurrence, interpretation and usage in medieval Latin language. Most of the terms seem to lose their original theatrical connotation from classical Latin, and their meaning as well as general comprehension of them often conform to the lexicographical tradition: these were either simplified, unduly genera-

¹⁰² Cf. *ClarVoc*, v. 379: “... pyesnotwora comodia sit”; *ClarGl*, v. 1632: “... comedia pyesnotwor(n)a”; *UK I D 32*, f. 176: “... comedia pyesnotwora”; *Veleš*, f. 92^b: “comedia pismotwora”. The phrase comes from “piesn” (“song”) and “tvořiti” (“to create”, “to compose”), see *StčS*, s. v. “piesnotwor(n)a”. Cf. also the following dictionaries defining comedy as “potwora”: *LexS*, p. 71a: “comedia potwora”; *Veleš*, f. 92^a: “comedia potwora”; see *StčS*, s. v. *potwora*.

¹⁰³ Cf. *VocLact*, f. E 8^{ra}. Cf. *StčS*, s. v. *pravopiesna*.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. *LexClemB*, f. 38^{vb}.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. *LibDec II*, p. 178: “... tubicines enim tubis caneant, psallebant cordicistae lyris, volgus comoedias vociferabat.” See the definition in *LB*, s. v. *comoedia*. Cf. *MW*, s. v. *comoedia*, which relates the term (in plural) to “songs of the Middle Ages”.

¹⁰⁶ The classical Latin terms designating actors and entertainers (e.g. *histrion*, *ioculator* etc.) were (besides their new medieval meanings) commonly applied to medieval entertainers and actors. The Latin histrionic terms, their use and connotation in the early Middle Ages are discussed by JACK D. A. OGILVY, *Mimi, Scurrae, Histriones: Entertainers of the Early Middle Ages*, in: *Speculum* 38, 1963, pp. 603-619.

¹⁰⁷ See e.g. the phrase *ludi theatrales* in note 7.

lised or extended, or even completely replaced by a new meaning. While the definitions of the terms in the Latin glossaries and dictionaries of Bohemia show above all the knowledge and use (whether direct or indirect) of the key lexicographical works of Europe, the practical Latin-Czech glossaries often suggest the most general conceptions and commonly used connotations of the terms in Latin vocabulary. These can be verified in the contextual sources of Bohemia. On the one hand the terms were “kept alive” in Latin glossaries and dictionaries as part of the universal learned tradition of medieval Latin European lexicography, spreading ideas and information on ancient theatre, on the other one some of them were employed in the active Latin vocabulary as part of a completely different, non-theatrical context, a context of medieval Bohemia, and even attached to certain old Czech words.¹⁰⁸

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- ClarBoh – BARTHOLOMEUS CLARETUS, *Bohemarius*, (ed.) VÁCLAV FLAJŠHANS, in: *Klaret a jeho družina*, I, Praha 1926, pp. 40-72.
- ClarGl – BARTHOLOMEUS CLARETUS, *Glossarius*, (ed.) VÁCLAV FLAJŠHANS, in: *Klaret a jeho družina*, I, Praha 1926, pp. 104-202.
- ClarVoc – BARTHOLOMEUS CLARETUS, *Vocabularius grammaticus*, (ed.) VÁCLAV FLAJŠHANS, in: *Klaret a jeho družina*, I, Praha 1926, pp. 8-30.
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- CodVodn (= Ms. KNM II F 2) – *Codex Vodnianus*.
- InOmG (= Ms. 362 e cod. capituli Olomucensis, f. 44^r-85^v) – *In omnibus gentibus, glossarium*.
- LexClemB (= Ms. KNM XVII F 31, f. 1^r-91^v) – *Slovník latinsko-český* [Latin-Czech dictionary].
- LexR (= Ms. *capituli Strigoniensis* II 8, f. 1^r-13^v) – *Slovník latinsko-český* [Latin-Czech dictionary].
- LexS (= Ms. *capituli Strigoniensis* II 8, f. 58-152) – *Slovník latinsko-český* [Latin-Czech dictionary].
- LibCivAlb (= Ms. archiv Mladá Boleslav I B Ia 2) – *Liber civitatis Albeaquensis*.

¹⁰⁸ E.g. (*amphi*)*theatrum* for “okol”, “kupecka lubie”; *amphitheatrum* for “rynek” etc. Cf. the discussion about the terms.

- LibCivOlom III – *Liber civitatis Olomucensis n. 1564*, archiv Olomouc.
- LibDec II – *Liber decanorum facultatis philosophicae universitatis Pragensis*, in: *Monumenta historica universitatis Pragensis*, II, Praga 1830-1832.
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- Ms. CaprP P 1570, f. 14^r-32^v – *Vocabularius iuris ordine alphabeti*.
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- Ms. UK I C 36, f. 119^r-121^r – *Vocabularius graeco-latinus*.
- Ms. UK I D 32, f. 175^r-176^r – *Vocabularius latino-bohemicus*.
- Ms. UK IV A 11, f. 131^r-136^v – *Articuli synodorum posteriorum*.
- Ms. UK VI C 28, f. 102^r-117^v – *Vocabularius latinus*.
- Ms. UK IX E 1, f. 200^r-221^r – *Vocabularius latinus, quo voces rariores, imprimis graecae et hebraicae exponuntur*.
- Ms. UK X E 20, f. 96^r-101^r – *Tractatus de scientiis*.
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- VitaMil – *Vita venerabilis presbyteri Milicii*, (ed.) JOSEF EMLER, *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, I, Praga 1873, pp. 403-430.
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Abbreviations

<i>CapPr P</i>	the codex of the library of the metropolitan chapter of Prague
<i>CCL</i>	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina</i> , Turnhout 1953–
<i>CCM</i>	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis</i> , Turnhout 1966–
<i>DfG</i>	LAURENTIUS DIEFENBACH, <i>Glossarium Latino-Germanicum mediae et infimae aetatis</i> , Frankfurt am Main 1857
<i>GL</i>	<i>Grammatici Latini</i> , I-VII + <i>Supplementum</i> , (ed.) HEINRICH KEIL, Leipzig 1855-1880 (repr. Hildesheim 2002)
<i>KNM</i>	the manuscript of the library of the National Museum of Prague
<i>LB</i>	<i>Latinitatis medii aevi lexicon Bohemorum (Slovník středověké latiny v českých zemích)</i> , Praha 1977–
<i>MW</i>	<i>Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch</i> , Berlin 1959–
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> , (ed.) JACQUES-PAUL MIGNE, Paris 1841-1864
<i>StčS</i>	<i>Staročeský slovník</i> , Praha 1977–
<i>UK</i>	the manuscript of the University Library of Prague

Du Cange – CHARLES DU FRESNE SIEUR DU CANGE, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, I-X, Graz 1954.

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